

4. Read to a child today.

Yes, learning begins at home and this place is home to all of us. Let us join hands and bring the joy of learning to everyone in our communities . . . then learning will truly begin at home once more.

# THE JESUIT MARTYRS OF EL SALVADOR

**HON. JAMES P. McGOVERN**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 16, 1999*

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from three days in El Salvador where, at the invitation of the Jesuit-run University of Central America (UCA) in San Salvador and the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, I participated in events surrounding the commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the murders of the Jesuit leadership of the UCA. While this horrific event stunned that small nation and the international community, the unraveling of that case and the identification of who within the Salvadoran armed forces committed this crime contributed to a negotiated settlement of the 12-year civil war in which over 70,000 Salvadoran civilians lost their lives.

Along with Congressman MOAKLEY, I delivered an address at the University of Central America on November 12th. I walked to the site behind the Jesuits' campus residence, the very ground where ten years ago the bodies of my beloved friends were discovered. This hallowed ground is now a beautiful rose garden. Each day people from all over come to the garden to nourish their hope and renew their commitment, and it is used by faculty and students alike for meditation and repose. There is now a chapel where the six priests are buried. The university has also installed a small and emotionally compelling museum dedicated to the lives and deaths of the six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter, who as witnesses were also murdered that night.

Mr. Speaker, the lives and deaths of these priests had a profound effect on my own life. I knew them in life, and I helped investigate and uncover who ordered and carried out their murders. I have remained involved and committed to peace, democracy, and development in El Salvador. I will never forget my friends, and I urge my colleagues to never forget our obligation to help El Salvador build a better future.

I would like to enter into the RECORD the address I made at the University of Central America and an article about the 10th Anniversary by Father Leo Donovan, the President of Georgetown University.

10TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION OF THE JESUIT MARTYRS, UNIVERSIDAD CENTROAMERICANA JOSE SIMEON CANAS, SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR, NOVEMBER 12, 1999

I feel privileged to be here tonight, to be part of this company of speakers, to hear the words and memories of the families, and to honor and remember the lives of our friends—Ignacio Ellacuria, Segundo Montes, Ignacio, Martin-Baro, Amando Lopez, Juan Ramon Moreno, Joaquin Lopez y Lopez, Elba Julia Ramos and Celina Ramos. Congressman MOAKLEY and I are most associated with

the investigation into their murders, but I was honored to know these priests for many years. I was honored to call them my friends. I learned from their insights, research and analysis. I laughed and sang songs with them. And I have been inspired by the lives they led.

The lives and deaths of my friends and my experiences in El Salvador have informed and influenced all other actions I have taken on human rights issues. They shape the way I tackle the challenges of social justice, fairness, and civil rights in my own country. And they are always in my thoughts as I think about the values and ideals I wish to pass along to my 18-month old son, Patrick George McGovern.

I believe with all my heart that the United States is a great country. That it is built upon the promotion and preservation of freedom, liberty and respect for the rights and dignity of every one of our citizens. The U.S. has fought to protect democracy, helped war-ravaged countries rebuild, and responded generously to natural disasters, like Hurricane Mitch. As someone who values a sense of history, I'm inspired by the principles enshrined in our founding documents.

The actions of my government, however, during the long years of the Salvadoran war, were a source of deep disappointment for me because U.S. policy did not reflect the values and ideals of America. Instead, that policy had more to do with our obsession with the Cold war than with the search for peace and justice in El Salvador.

The U.S. did not cause the war in El Salvador. But our policy did help prolong a war that cost tens of thousands of innocent lives—including the lives of the six men and two women were gathered to honor tonight. Had we used our influence earlier to promote a negotiated settlement, perhaps our friends might be here celebrating with us.

We in the United States need to acknowledge that fact. In particular, our leaders need to acknowledge that fact.

There was an arrogance about U.S. policy that rationalized, explained away, and even condoned a level of violence against the Salvadoran people that would have been intolerable if perpetrated against our own citizens.

Presidents, Vice Presidents, Senators and Members of Congress have for years come to El Salvador to tell you what changes you must make in your nation. They—and I—have urged you to make institutional changes in El Salvador—in your military, your police, your judiciary, and your political institutions. And you have made changes, and you have made great progress in these areas.

To be frank, however, they and I have rarely talked about the institutional changes we need to make in the United States. But the fact is, we in the U.S. have a responsibility to change the culture and mindset of many of our own institutions.

I fear that we in the U.S. have institutions—namely our military and intelligence agencies—that have not fully learned the lessons of El Salvador. While there are examples where these agencies have performed admirably, we continue to make many of the same mistakes. Sadly, the U.S. continues to train, equip and aid repressive militaries around the world in the name of strategic interest—no matter the level of human rights abuses.

In late August, I traveled to East Timor. I was there nine days before the historic vote for independence. I spent a day out in the countryside with Catholic priests Hilario Madeira and Francisco Soares, who were protecting over 2,000 displaced people who had sought refuge from militia violence in the church courtyard. I had dinner in the home of Bishop Carlos Belo and heard him talk

about the escalating violence against East Timorese people. And I thought about El Salvador, and the pastoral work of the Catholic Church, and my friends, the Jesuits, and the work of the UCA.

Two weeks after I returned to the United States, Father Hilario and Father Francisco were murdered, shot down on the steps of their church as they tried to protect their parishioners from massacre. Bishop Belo's house was burned to the ground, and he was forced to flee his country.

During the 24 years of Indonesian occupation of East Timor, the United States sent the Indonesian military over \$1 billion in arms sales and over \$500 million in direct aid and training. To the credit of the Clinton Administration, the U.S. severed military relations with Indonesia in September. But we should have done that sooner, and it was the Pentagon that was most reluctant to break relations with its military partners during the first critical weeks of violence that devastated the people of East Timor.

The problem with the Indonesian military, like the Salvadoran military of the 1980s, is not a problem of a "few bad apples." It is an institutional problem. And the U.S. approach to military aid, training and arms sales reflects an institutional problem within the U.S. military. Never again should the United States be in the position of training and equipping military personnel who cannot distinguish between civilian actors and armed combatants.

The U.S. has yet to sign the international treaty to ban antipersonnel landmines—a treaty the Government of El Salvador to its great credit has signed. You have seen the devastation of land mines—the tragedy of a young child missing a leg or an arm and maybe even missing a future. But why hasn't the U.S. yet signed the treaty? Because the institutional culture of the Pentagon rejects giving up any kind of weapon currently in its arsenal, no matter how deadly to innocent civilians. This must change.

Our military institutions should care as much about the lives and security of ordinary citizens as they do about strategic advantage and military relations. I have met many good men and women who serve in the Armed Forces, including many who serve in El Salvador. It is important that our institutions, like these individuals, realize that respecting human rights and safeguarding the lives of ordinary people is in the strategic and national interests of the United States.

And let me be clear, the U.S. Congress also must fulfill its responsibility and demand accountability of our military programs. All too often, Members of Congress simply don't want to know what our military and other programs abroad are doing.

We also must change the culture of secrecy and denial within our military and intelligence institutions.

I have pushed my government hard to disclose all documents in its possession related to the case of the four U.S. churchwomen murdered in El Salvador in 1980. It's been 19 years—and the families of these murdered women still do not have the satisfaction of knowing all that their government knows.

I have also pushed my government to release all documents relating to the Pinochet case, including materials on the United States role in the overthrow of the government of Chile and its aftermath. The people of Chile have waited 26 years for justice. The action taken by Spanish Judge Garzon has broken new ground in international human rights law, making it clear that no one, no matter how high their office, who commits crimes against humanity, can escape the consequences of their actions.

I don't do this because I can't let go of the past. I do this because I want to ensure a better future. It is hard to change "old ways"—

whether we are talking about institutions in the United States or in El Salvador. But we must change in order to protect the freedoms of tomorrow.

I believe the United States has a special obligation, given our past, to help El Salvador in its economic development, to assist the people of El Salvador in achieving their goals, and to support the rights of Salvadoran refugees still living in the United States. As a Member of the U.S. Congress, I believe it is my responsibility to fight for more resources to aid in the development of El Salvador; to help El Salvador confront the challenges of poverty and inequality that limit the futures of so many Salvadoran families; and to aid the people of this great country in pursuing their dreams and aspirations.

I'm proud of our current programs in El Salvador. I know our Ambassador and USAID director have made it a priority to reach out to the Salvadoran people, to encourage participation in the planning of United States development projects, and to forge a working relationship with communities throughout El Salvador—and I commend them for their fine work.

As a citizen of the United States, I want my country to be, in the words of my good friend and mentor, George McGovern, "a witness to the world for what is just and noble in human affairs." This will require the citizens of my country to bring our nation to a higher standard—and we will do so with respect and a deep love for our country.

Over a decade ago, the Jesuits of the UCA taught me that a life committed to social justice, to protecting human rights, to seeking the truth is a life filled with meaning and purpose. I hope my life will be such a life. And if it is, it will be due to my long association with the Jesuits, the UCA, and the people of El Salvador. And for that, I thank you—all of you—you who are here tonight, and those who are with us every day in spirit. You are truly "presente" in my life.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1999]

#### MARTYRS IN EL SALVADOR

(By Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J.)

Ten years ago in the early morning darkness of Nov. 16, army soldiers burst into the Jesuit residence at the University of Central America (UCA) in San Salvador and brutally killed six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her young daughter. It was not the first assassination of church leaders: 18 Catholic priests, including Father Rutilio Grande and Archbishop Oscar Romero, and four North American churchwomen have been killed in El Salvador since the late 1970s—more than in any other nation in the world. And the murder of priests and nuns continues to scar the history of other countries, including India, Guatemala and most recently East Timor.

While we still grieve their loss the 10th anniversary of the Jesuit assassinations offers an important opportunity to reflect on the enduring legacy of the martyrs.

Far from silencing those dedicated to promoting justice, peace and the alleviation of misery for all in the human family, the Jesuit murders spurred the people of El Salvador—and the world—to witness a higher truth. Shortly after the murders, a U.N. Truth Commission was formed to investigate the killings. Although the government initially claimed that FMLN guerrillas had committed the murders, the Truth Commission determined that the government had in fact ordered the killings.

In an appalling step five days after the report was released, the Salvadoran National Assembly gave amnesty to those convicted. But through the U.N. Truth Commission, an essential truth about state violence in EL

Salvador was uncovered, as well as the deeply disturbing fact that 19 of the 26 Salvadoran officers involved in the slayings had been trained at the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Ga.

The murders—and the unfolding truth about who committed them—helped significantly undermine the power and prestige of the armed forces and provided impetus for the peace process. Signed on Jan. 16, 1992, the peace accords ended a war that had cost the lives of 75,000 citizens and represent the triumph of another of the Jesuits' essential goals—peace through dialogue.

While still fragile, the peace in El Salvador has enabled some political and judicial reform and provides the critical foundation for future advances. Since the end of the civil war, there have been two open, democratic elections, featuring candidates from both the National Republican Alliance Party (ARENA) and the opposing National Liberation Party (FMLN).

The macroeconomic indicators show that inflation is at its lowest level in nearly three decades. Newly elected President Francisco Flores of the ARENA Party has promised continued economic improvement and a vitally needed reduction of poverty. But many grave challenges face him and the people of El Salvador.

Approximately 40 percent of Salvadorans live in dire poverty. More than a third of citizens lack safe drinking water and adequate housing. And more than half the population lacks adequate health care. Education for all, a fundamental goal shared by the slain Jesuits, also continues to elude the country—more than 30 percent of Salvadorans are illiterate.

Violence continues to be a national scourge. A joint U.N. commission in 1994 reported that while military death squads had ceased to operate after the peace accords, criminal gangs or illegal armed groups were committing summary executions, posing death threats and carrying out other acts of intimidation for political motives. The Washington Office on Latin America reports that violent crime continues to threaten the still tender democratic political order. Unless the government can address the problem of citizen security, while respecting human and civil rights, the country may slip back into a state of war. Continuing the work of the martyred Jesuits is more important than ever.

As we look ahead, the Jesuit martyrs offer us a lasting model of courageous service to humanity. At a time when torture, intimidation and death-squad executions of civilians were daily occurrences, my Jesuit brothers regularly endured threats to their safety and well-being. During the civil war, the UCA campus and the Jesuit residence were bombed at least 16 times. But the Jesuit's teaching and research, their pastoral work, and their advocacy of social reform continued despite all challenge. They knew and accepted the great personal risk their work entailed—the risk of their lives.

In the days prior to his death Father Ignacio Ellacuria, president of UCA, had refused the opportunity to remain in his home country, Spain, and wait out the period of unrest in El Salvador. Father Ignatio Martin-Baro, academic vice president was asked, "Why don't you leave here, Father? It is dangerous." He responded: "Because we have much to do; there is much work." The spirit and conviction of these men endures through the efforts of those who bravely stepped forward to take their places, including Father Charles Beirne, S.J., who took over Martin-Baro's position in the aftermath of the assassinations and Father Chema Tojeria, S.J., who now serves as Father Ellacuria's successor. Their spirit endures in the human

rights volunteers from around the world—people from organizations such as Catholic Relief Services, Amnesty International and the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights—all active in El Salvador.

It lives in the Salvadoran people. And the spirit of the Jesuit martyrs endures as we in distant countries around the globe learn from their example of steadfast commitment to the poor, to education and to a future built on freedom and justice, not opposition and bloodshed.

#### TRIBUTE TO OUTSTANDING TEACHERS

#### HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 16, 1999*

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute and to congratulate the outstanding accomplishments of ten distinguished teachers from New Jersey. These great individuals have dedicated over twenty years each to educating and uplifting New Jersey's brightest little stars: our youth. They have truly demonstrated a solid commitment to building strong foundations for their students; in and outside of the schoolrooms.

As a result of their diligent work towards promoting leadership in our children, these teachers will be honored by the Phi Chapter of Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc. on November 20. Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, a national business women's sorority, is devoted to projecting the philosophy of the pursuit of excellence in all worthy endeavors among youth.

The teachers being honored during the Apple for the Teacher program, part of the National Education Week celebration, are: Carolyn S. Banks; Gloria J. Bartee; Henry B. Clark; Phyllis K. Donoghue; Victoria Gong; Mary Jo Grimm; Gail D. Lane; Robin C. Lewis; Simone Wilson; Kathleen Witche.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that all my colleagues join me in congratulating these superb teachers on their efforts to improve the community. When our teachers demonstrate such initiative, we as a nation prosper.

#### MIAMI CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL

#### HON. ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 16, 1999*

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I proudly rise today to pay tribute to a place where children are second to none: Miami Children's Hospital, which will celebrate its 50th anniversary on March 21, 2000.

This world class children's hospital had its humble beginnings with a vision by our former Ambassador to the Vatican, David McLean Walters. After his granddaughter's sorrowful death from Leukemia, Ambassador Walters decided to create a facility where South Florida's children could receive the best possible care, and where no child would lack excellent medical care. With his bold leadership, he worked tirelessly to raise funds through the Miami Children's Hospital Foundation, and what began as a humble idea twenty years ago is now commonly referred to as the Pinnacle of Pediatrics.